NASSER, THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL—AN INSIDE REPORT . . . Pages 5, 6 & 7

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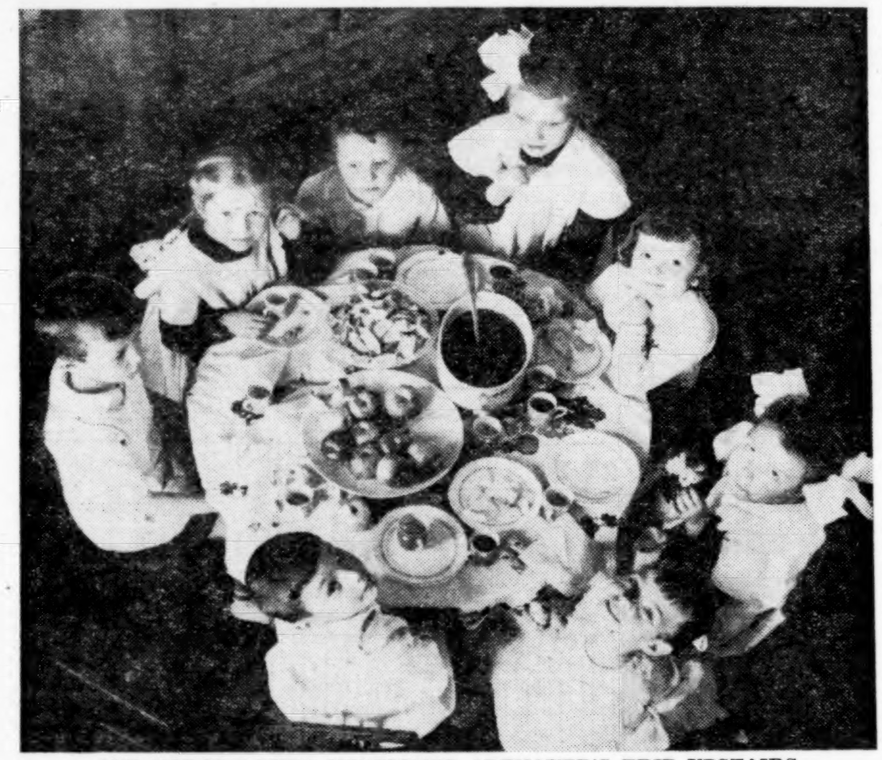

AND NOBODY EVEN MENTIONED ADENAUER'S TRIP UPSTAIRS
This American-Soviet conference around the punchbowl took place in Moscow April 6. Participants: Muscovite kindergarteners and their guests—children of the cast of the American "Holiday on Ice," now being cheered in Moscow even as the Bolshoi Ballet is creating a major revolution among ticket seekers in New York.

WHY DID THE OLD MAN QUIT?

Adenauer's fixations still haunt the West before the May parley

By Kumar Goshal

WESTERN CAPITALS were taken by surprise on April 7 when West Germany's Chancellor Adenauer announced he would step down from his powerful post and seek the ornamental West German presidency this summer. Consternation prevailed in the same capitals the next day when, in an address to the nation, Adenauer bitterly charged the British with being anti-German.

There was little doubt that the West German Federal Assembly on July 1 would elect Adenauer President, replacing the incumbent President Theodor Heuss, who finishes his term on Sept. 11. He cannot run for a third term.

Western diplomats and correspondents were asking these questions: (1) Why did Adenauer agree to relinquish his strategic post? (2) Whom will he nominate as his successor? (3) Why did he attack the British only five days before a working group of senior U.S., British, French and West German officials were to meet in London to coordinate Western policies for the Big Four foreign ministers' meeting next month?

PARTY REVOLT: There were several reasons behind Adenauer's resignation. His high-handed methods have been meeting ever greater criticism in his own Christian Democratic Party. The party's 271-member parliamentary group staged a successful revolt against him last month when he sought to force as a presidential candidate the supposedly less rigid Vice Chancellor and Economics Minister Ludwig Erhard. When this move failed, Adenauer acceded to pressure from the big industrialist backers of the party and agreed to run for the post himself. It was not so much that they disagreeed with his principles but that public opinion the world over was insisting on a change in Western attitudes, and they are astute people. In the last analysis they were the power—not Adenauer.

(Continued on Page 4)

WASHINGTON JOBLESS PARLEY DRAWS 7,000

Merged labor's first mass political action

By Robert E. Light
Guardian staff correspondent
WASHINGTON

WHEN THE AFL-CIO called together 7,000 delegates at the National Guard Armory in Washington on April 8 to focus "national attention upon America's Number One domestic problem—mass unemployment," it set a precedent. It was the first time the merged house of labor massed its membership for political action.

The idea had frightened many of the top labor brass and they acted to keep the rally "under control." Quotas were assigned to the unions and only 15 cities were asked to participate. Delegates were carefully screened to keep out hot-heads and "leftist elements." AFL-CIO president George Meany invited the FBI to keep an eye on the delegates.

"WE WANT JOBS": But despite the precautions, some of the rank-and-file's urgency for action against unemployment took fire in the armory. Delegates from the United Auto Workers and the Intl. Electrical Workers provided the spark. UAW members wore caps identifying their locals with these slogans: "We Want Jobs," "Mr. President, Our Children Can't Eat the Balanced Budget," "Automation Has Stolen Our Jobs." The union, allotted 900 delegates, sent 2,000.

In Detroit, Ford Local 600, largest in the country, received credentials for a small delegation. But unemployed members wrote out their own papers and boarded the train to Washington. They wore buttons reading "30 for 40"—30 hours work for 40 hours pay. IUE sent 371 delegates—more than their quota. They often led the cheering when speakers called for action.

Mingling in good numbers with these delegates were local officials and hangers-on. They were easily identified by their well-tailored clothes and long cigars.

DOWN FROM THE HILL: As Meany called the meeting to order, about 80 members of Dodge Local 3, Hamtramck, Mich., gathered on the armory steps around an accordionist to sing "Solidarity Forever." Inside, the speakers intoned less militantly.

When the meeting was proposed last February, it was suggested that the delegates buttonhole Congressmen on the Hill. The idea was rejected in favor of inviting Congressmen to come down to the meeting. As a result delegates listened to five Congressional speeches, another by Labor Secy. James P. Mitchell, four by top union brass and reports by local officials.

Meany opened with an attack on the Administration's "do-nothing" policy on unemployment. He scoffed at official statistics—conveniently released the day before the meeting—showing a drop in unemployment for March. He noted there were still 4,360,000 without jobs.

(Continued on Page 10)

AFL-CIO News
TRAMP! CLANK! TRAMP!"

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Watch for Special Book Issue May 4—See p. 8 for details

WEST COAST LONGSHOREMEN BEGIN A NEW ERA

A union charts a course for a troubled nation

By Terry Pettus
Special to the Guardian
SEATTLE

"Although we might instinctively hope for pat and uncomplicated solutions to the problem with which we have to grapple, the current conditions in our own country and the world simply do not permit of any one simple or easy answer."

THIS SENTENCE FROM the 71-page definitive officer's report best describes the collective attitude of the 230 delegates to the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's "end of an era" convention who spent six days and nights—April 6-11—putting together a working people's view of today's complex world.

Through the discussions and adopted policy statements ran the theme that the 13th Biennial Convention marked the end of the proud but turbulent period during which the union fought for and won its right to exist. Now the main problem was not defense but finding ways in which an established and unified organization can best meet the challenges of a shrinking but divided and rapidly changing world.

"It will be the country that reduces the hours of work, gets the highest wages, the best medical care, education and recreation that will win the contest," said President Harry Bridges in his keynote speech. "Whether we like it or not, we are already in the contest."

WARM WELCOME: In contrast to the fiery crosses of the Ku Klux Klan and threats of mob violence which greeted the ILWU's 1938 convention in Aberdeen, Wash., was the warm welcome from officialdom and coverage by the commercial press and TV.

(Bridges got an appreciative laugh

(Continued on Page 9)

The Mail Bag

Surplus for Americans

PETOSKEY, MICH.

Our government has been (and still is, I guess) purchasing huge amounts of creamery butter cheese, grain and beans, etc., from farmers and large growers. This surplus is now stored in warehouses, ships, and various types of storage buildings here in the U.S.

We are told that if we send $1 to CARE, 22 pounds of this surplus will be sent to some needy, hungry persons in Europe and Asia.

Millions of people, the aged, unemployed, those unable to work because of disability, etc., are unable to buy this much-needed surplus. Why not release this so-called surplus to more of the American people? They would soon reduce this vast hoard of food that our government has purchased at a cost of billions of our tax dollars and is now paying a million dollars a year for its storage.

Retired and handicapped people 65 or over living on Social Security checks could be presented with a card that would entitle the bearer to purchase some of this food for about half the retail price. This would quickly reduce the surplus and help the government to obtain a part of the cost of its expenditure.

Write to your governors, senators and congressmen now on this subject, if you agree with me.

Ralph Jordan

Fighting Forty-Niner

SITKA, ALASKA

Just a few weeks ago I got three envelopes containing cards to be signed from the St. Paul postmaster concerning some literature and books which the St. Paul postmaster had been holding up from my receiving for over a year. I signed the cards and sent them back and now I am receiving my literature. That the St. Paul postmaster held up my books and some of my literature for over a year without notifying me I consider unconstitutional. Some of the books and literature told of the progress being accomplished in Russia and China under the socialist regime.

Owen Rademacher

For poet Faiz

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Albert E. Kahn's plea for imprisoned Pakistani poet Faiz is very moving (GUARDIAN, Mar. 30). We, the readers of the GUARDIAN, can and must do something to return Faiz to freedom. For my part I shall be glad to join in a protest to the government of Pakistan, demanding the immediate release of Faiz; also I would urge the establishment of a Faiz Ahmed Faiz Fund for the implementation of a protest. Please find here a small contribution to this end.

A. A. Heller

[*Contribution sent to Albert Kahn, 13026 Henno Road, Glen Ellen, Calif.* Ed.]

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Thanks in part to the atoms-for-peace program, the knowledge of nuclear physics is becoming so widely disseminated that any industrially advanced country will soon be able to build its own bomb.

—N.Y. Times, April 5

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M.L.A., Yellow Springs, O.

All aboard

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We have been advertising in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the six weeks or so. It may interest you to know that we have received more requests for our folder "N" on Soviet tours from GUARDIAN readers than from any other single source.

Sonya Sokolow, director. Afton Tours

Water and fire

BUFFALO, N.Y.

Pierre van Paassen, writing in 1946 in **Earth Could be Fair,** predicted as follows:

"Strange things are happening in the national political field: water and fire are coming together: the Roman Catholic and the Calvinist parties have formed a coalition. The orthodox dominies are currently preaching from the text 'How good and lovely is it for brothers of the same house to dwell together in unity.' . . . Fundamentally this move has nothing to do with theology, of course. Underneath all that subtle palaver we hear from the pulpits is a very real social-economic basis. What is happening is this: The reaction is closing ranks in the face of mounting social discontent. The growth of socialist thought and action puts the churches on their mettle."

W. C. Mueller

Facts in Hamburg

HAMBURG, GERMANY

Since moving to Germany, I await with more eagerness the arrival of the GUARDIAN because as soon as I finish reading each issue I pass it around to some of my German friends who are also seeking the facts about today's world.

Keep up the good work in bringing the facts to those who will not be fooled by demagogues of Wall Street, Washington and Bonn.

Richard G. Campbell

Platitudes and inexactitudes

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

The Duke of Edinburgh addressing a scientific association uttered a portentous platitude when he remarked that the achievements of science may be used for good or evil ends. He then went on to say that it is for the people of the world to decide this question. If you can believe this you can believe anything!

Perhaps a dozen men with their hands on the mighty levers of money and propaganda have the power to decide the fate of humanity. We are today, like the French, under a military dictatorship. The French, however, voted for theirs. We didn't.

Rhoda Clarke

Throw away that crutch

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

In regard to the inscription on our American coins, it would be more in keeping with our Constitution if it read "Servants of Mankind" instead of "In God we Trust." Inculcating in the mind of the child a proper regard for the rights of others, a high ethical code of conduct and his moral obligation to society as a whole, will do far more to make him a reputable citizen than the inculcation of any religious system, or making him dependent upon a mythical source, which is speculative philosophy or theory. Millions of people have the moral fiber to stand on their own feet and use their own mind in working out their problems without the crutch of an unknown power.

Walter C. Day

Adelaide News, Australia

(Citizens who do not vote in Australia are subject to fine.)

"Do you realize that we can be fined two pounds if we don't vote today?"

Testimonial

EL PASO, TEX.

Kindly send me another bottle of Geriatric Formula vitamins, check for $3.50 enclosed. The first batch got me through the Denver Smith Act trial in good shape—let's see how the second lot does on the appeal.

Patricia Blawis

Pen-friend wanted

BOMBAY, INDIA

I am desirous of having pen-friendships with young American boys and girls. Age, 18; hobbies, stamps, pets, reading, correspondence.

Chandu R. Gehi, M/s. Gehi Industries, Byculla, Bombay 27.

A slight error

MADISON, WIS.

I should like to call attention to a slight error in the GUARDIAN article anouncing the beginning of the new socialist journal, **Studies on the Left.** Although the journal received part of its inspiration from the activities of the University of Wisconsin Socialist Club, the new magazine has no official connection with the Socialist Club.

The new journal is completely independent of any party or association, and will print articles from any socialist point of view provided they are significant and meet the quality standards of the editorial board. We hope to receive manuscripts from all sections of the Left and from all areas of the United States. We feel that such a magazine is needed by students of socialism.

Saul Landau

But please do eat!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Here is $5 for my subscription renewal. I would rather go without dinner than go without our GUARDIAN. Yours for continued success.

F. B.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

"NOTHING LIKE THIS has ever happened before," said Earl Mann, president of the Georgia Crackers, as he announced the largest gate receipts ever recorded at a ball game in Georgia last week.

What Mr. Mann meant was that a three-day stand by the Brooklyn Dodgers featuring Jackie Robinson and Roy Campanella, Negro baseball stars, had proved highly profitable for the baseball club owners despite Ku Klux Klan threats.

What Mr. Mann may not have meant—but which was even more important—was that never before had 25,000 fans, white and Negro, crowded the Atlanta park to cheer a Negro player.

—From a story headed, "The Grand Dragon strikes out," in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, April 18, 1949.

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Vol. 11, No. 28 401 April 20, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Sassy teachers

BURSTING AT ITS SEAMS despite at least ten years of official boycott by local labor and education circles, the Teachers Union of New York City had to move into Manhattan's most capacious and most celebrated hotel for its 23rd Annual Educational Conference.

Nearly 2,500 teachers and friends buzzed around Waldorf-Astoria corridors hung with educational exhibits, book and publication displays and art shows. Morning forums on "Reading, Key to Learning, the Right of Every Child;" and "Integration Works: Why Not in New York City?" were led by foremost educators from Delaware and New Jersey.

The dais guests at the annual luncheon in the grand ballroom included several New York State senators and assemblymen, a judge or two, leading integration leaders, educators, lawyers and clergymen. Messages came from Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling, Alexander Meiklejohn, scientist Philip Morrison, leaders of NAACP and the Urban League.

Speakers included the Burmese Ambassador to the United Nations, U Thant himself a noted educator; the assistant Commissioner for Higher Education of the New York State Dept. of Education; and Mrs. Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP and publisher of the **Arkansas State Press** of Little Rock, the valiant Negro weekly which has relentlessly fought Faubus in behalf of school integration.

AS IF TO UNDERSCORE the fact that this was a union gathering, and not merely an international educational conference (its theme was "Knowledge Knows No Frontiers"), union officers Abraham Lederman and Rose Russell were able to announce that the union had won more than $1,000,000 in back pay during the year in a court fight in behalf of the city's substitute teachers; and that the union's fight against New York City's attempt to force teachers to become informers had won all the way up to the state Court of Appeals, beyond which Mayor Wagner's frustrated witch-hunters have no further recourse.

With due respect to the eloquent guest from Burma and the enjoyable emissary from State Dept. of Education, it was Mrs. Bates for whom the luncheon guests reserved their most fervent applause.

"We are fighting our way through a jungle of hate, prejudice, false pride, bigotry and tradition and other afflictions of the human mind," she said. "The citizens are taught that it is 'a sin' to disturb any people or group when they are reasonably happy, however deep may be their ignorance, poverty and misery . . .

"I am happy to be a part of this struggle for freedom, even though we have to sleep under the protection of armed guards, and watch the business for which we have worked 18 years almost destroyed overnight. But if in our struggle we can gain our citizenship rights which we as a race have been denied some 90 years, and exercise our self-respect as American citizens, then we feel that the humiliations, intimidations, abuse and 18 years of labor are a small price to pay."

SPUTNIK AND THE SPACE RACE came in for discussion, both as an aid to education and as a likely deterrent. The Education Dept. man from Albany, Dr. Elbert K. Fretwell Jr., thought it was "ironic that we are willing now to spend money to improve our schools to keep up with the Russians, rather than because we really believe in providing better instruction for our own children."

The gentleman from Burma feared that "technological progress unaccompanied by a corresponding moral and spiritual progress is leading the world towards a certain doom . . . Clever scientists toying with nuclear fission in all parts of the globe, or throwing up their intricate laboratories around the sky, are in a way just like children in a nursery, playing about with open knives."

PHILOSOPHER BARROWS DUNHAM, called upon to charm the audience waiting for Mrs. Bates (who had two previous talks that afternoon), noted the improved atmosphere between this year's conference and those held under the pall of the McCarthy period. He used a genial translation of Virgil's lines—**forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit**—to suggest that here and now, with dais personages sipping vintage (New York) champagne and relishing a new optimism, those old, cold days might be remembered with some enjoyment.

For many in the room, however, lost to teaching via the witch-hunt, the grimsical translation of the late Frank Ward O'Malley might have been more to the point:

"It'll be funny when its stops hurting." —THE GUARDIAN

ANNA LOUISE STRONG REPORTS FROM CHINA

Tibet: A 'revolt' of serf-owners against reform

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

PEKING

PEKING'S SUPPRESSION of the armed rebellion of Tibetan serf-owners is characteristically met around the world. Britain sits the fence by saying "we have long recognized Chinese suzerainty . . . on the understanding that Tibet has autonomy," which neatly permits any future action London may choose. Nehru follows Britain in reminding Peking of Tibet's "autonomy" but softens this by insisting that she will not interfere in "China's internal affairs."

Christian Herter resorts to the usual State Dept. insistence that the attempt of Tibet's most reactionary serf-owners to perpetuate serfdom's worst abuses is "the indomitable spirit of man"—an idea at which anyone in Asia laughs—and that Peking's belated restoration of order in Lhasa is "barbarous foreign intervention . . ."

The Rev. Shirob Jaltsov, 76-year-old chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Assn., a Tibetan who studied theology in Lhasa 32 years and should know the ropes, is as explicit as Herter but on the other side. He has made a formal statement which "fully endorses" Peking's action "as a Tibetan and a Buddhist," and declares that "the reactionary clique of serf-owners . . . shamefully turned against the interests of the Tibetan people . . . against Buddhism and against law." He adds optimistically that the rebellion and its failure "opens a new page in the history of Tibet."

Chinese of my acquaintance side with the Rev. Shirob. They think Peking played ball long enough with the serf-owners, and gave them nine years of rope which they used only to hang themselves, and that now the time may have come to play ball with the serfs . . . Not rashly or suddenly. Chinese are usually careful in planning their actions. But the serf-owners asked for it: perhaps they may get it now.

A LONG LIFE AT 23: Americans will take sides in accordance with past allegiances, and nothing they think or do is likely much to affect Tibet. But GUARDIAN readers deserve a background of history and of recent facts. The rebellion itself is ended in Lhasa, with authority restored to a Tibetan Preparatory Committee, of which the vice-chairman Panchen Lama is to act as chairman unless and until the Dalai Lama returns. In that case, Peking will play the game with him: for Peking has recognized as the administration in Tibet a committee of which the Dalai Lama is chairman, and of which the Panchen Lama is only acting chairman, pending the Dalai's "return."

Now 23, he is the first Dalai Lama for generations who has managed to live past the age of 18, the others having presumably been eased from the world by the palace guard of regents who thus kept rule in the names of successive Dalais, getting rid of each before they reached the age of actual power. The present Dalai survived because he signed up with Peking before he reached maturity at 18 years. This is only one detail that should make Americans think realistically about Tibet and "living Gods."

Chinese think realistically and the present Chinese government seeks to achieve its ends with a minimum of friction. So their take-over of Tibet in 1951 was very politely done. Washington did not appreciate it, for Washington was set to rush into the vacuum created when Chiang Kai-shek collapsed on one side of Tibet and British rule on the other. China's "suverainty" in Tibet—meaning the right of protector and general overlord without local administration—had not been challenged for centuries except briefly by Britain's "special interests."

A GOOD BARGAIN: Nonetheless, the Peoples Liberation Army stopped in Chamdo, a border area which had been mapped as China proper decades earlier, scared a Tibetan border garrison into running away to report to Lhasa, and then waited until the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama both went to Peking to make a treaty. These two "lamas" are two incarnations of Buddha, supposedly equal, "father and son," and always acting as one. Suppositions are not always realities, in politics or theology. The Dalai waited longer than the Panchen: he was younger and was said to fear poison.

By treaty in 1951 the Dalai and Panchen Lamas got autonomy for Tibet plus seats for both in the Chinese National Assembly in Peking, plus the return of some territory with Tibetan population which the Chinese Empire took away a century earlier. The bargain was not bad. Nor was it bad for China. For while Tibet will long be an economic burden, it holds the sources of China's great rivers. Chinese read the papers and know all about the poisons made in America and Britain which can kill all the world with a few ounces. They are not eager to put their water supply in the hands of nations like that.

Foreign correspondents went to Lhasa in 1953 with the first auto road built by China. They brought reports of a serfdom which combined utmost earthly brutality with theocratic control of souls. Peasants and herdsmen might be ordered by any "noble" to drop their own harvest and go at their own expense and carrying their own food on a long trek as body-servants and bearers. The "justice court" in Lhasa displayed instruments of torture on its walls, and used them on witnesses disapproved of by the judge. People might yearn for land reforms or freedom from torture, but not if a word from a lama could doom them to live as a worm or a louse in a thousand incarnations.

THE 'REVOLT': Peking knew that reform in Tibet would "take time." In April, 1956, Peking set up a "Preparatory Committee for Tibetan Autonomy" with the Dalai as chairman and the Panchen as vice-chairman, and agreed to let serfdom remain untouched for six years while Tibetans tried to reform it. The trouble was that, while a certain number of Tibetan upper class folks wanted reform, the hard-boiled reactionary serf-owners kept a four-to-two control of the previous "local government"—it was called the "kasha" and had six members, the "kaloons"—and sabotaged all the work of the "Preparatory Committee." Even the chairmanship of the Dalai Lama, who was supposed to set up the new autonomous constitution, got nothing done.

Peking waited, with what some thought excessive patience. Three years went by, no new government appeared, but banditry increased, especially against Chinese settlers in areas near China. Peking referred complaints to the Tibetan government, which did nothing to control the bandits, but much to inspire them. This is not peculiar to Tibet; it occurs in American cities. Peking still waited, referred disorder to Tibet until the "kaloons" were saying widely that Peking is powerless: now is the time to get rid of the Chinese for good and establish serfdom forever.

They launched the rebellion March 10. The Dalai Lama was expected that evening to attend a performance put on by the Peoples Liberation Army: he himself had fixed the date a month before. The local "kaloons" spread the rumor that the Chinese army would detain the Dalai: with this rumor they surrounded his palace with rioting crowds and kept him indoors with their own guards. This continued until the 19th, during which time the Dalai Lama exchanged letters three times with General Tan of the Central Government Army, saying each time that he was "under duress" but doing his best. His last letter on the 17th said he might soon seek the army for safety.

On the night of March 19 the kaloons ordered armed forces of Tibetans to surround and attack the garrison of the People's Liberation Army and the Central Government offices. They attacked through the night, and the Chinese defended themselves but made no attack. At 10 a.m. on the 20th, the People's Liberation Army, having meantime received their orders, counter-attacked, and cleaned up the attackers within slightly more than two days.

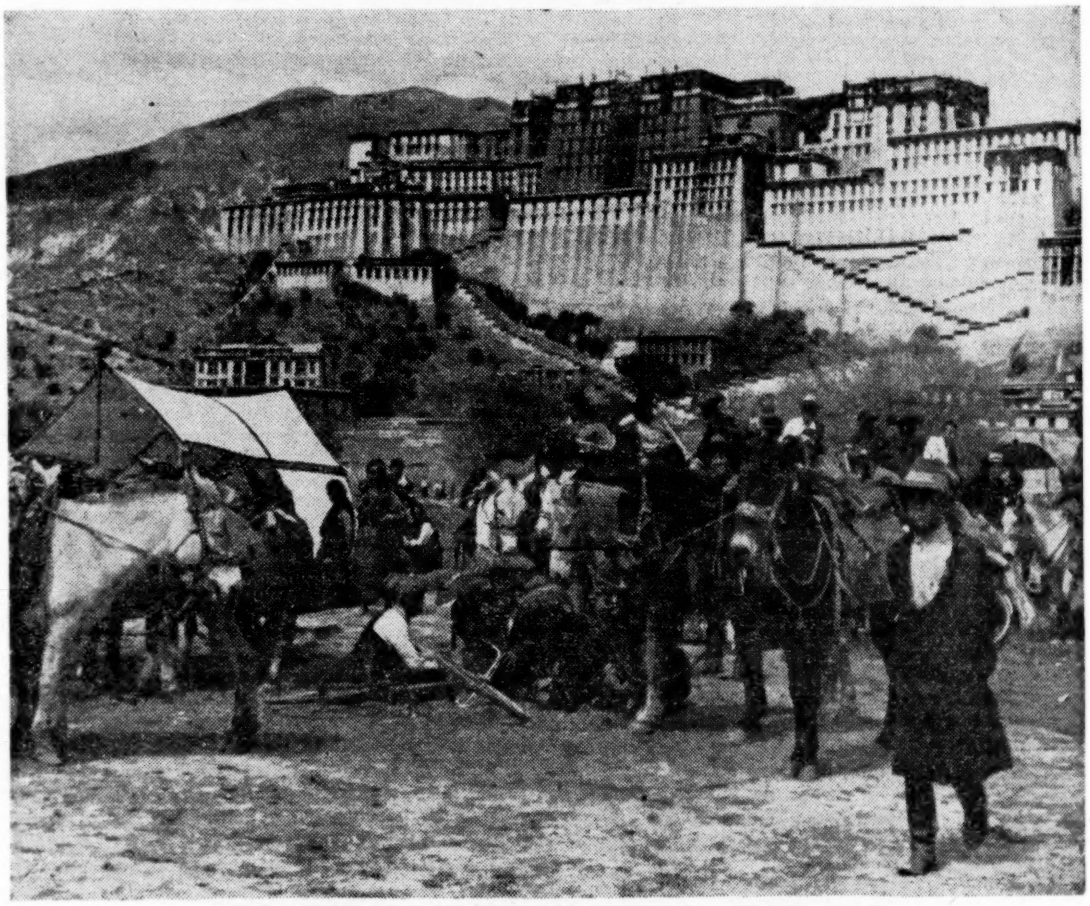
KALOONS DISSOLVED: Peking waited several more days—probably for fuller reports and perhaps for news of the Dalai Lama—before taking political action. Then an order, issued by the State Council, dissolved the government of the six kaloons, one of whom was already in India while three were somewhere in the wilds, and recognized in its place the "Preparatory Committee for Tibetan Autonomous Government" with the Dalai Lama as chairman, but, pending his return, the Panchen Lama as vice-chairman, acting as chairman. Orders went to the Peoples Liberation Army to clean up banditry anywhere in Tibet, while protecting the people, respecting their religious institutions, and setting up local administrations in consultation with the Preparatory Committee, under chairmanship of Panchen Erdeni.

Then Panchen Lama telegraphed acceptance on March 29 to Premier Chou En-lai for transmission also to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He expressed support for the order putting down the rebellion and supported the proclamation from Peking "personally and on behalf of the broad masses of people in Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular."

He stated that the "upper strata reactionary clique," acting through the "former local government" of the six kaloons, had at all times carried on intrigues against national unity, at all times opposed democratic reforms, had committed crimes "impermissible in state law," and were already meeting with "firm opposition" from the masses of people and the patriots. He "hails" the victory of the Peoples Liberation Army, and ends with "sympathy and concern" for the Dalai Lama "now under duress with reactionary rebels" from whom the Panchen hopes he may soon be able to get free. Till that time the Panchen Lama accepts the responsibility of organizing for an autonomous Tibet.

So the situation stands as I send this report. Meantime letters pour into the Peking press from Tibetans living in China, especially from students in the colleges and schools. Most of them exult that the showdown has come with the serf-owners, and foresee a bright future for a "democratic Tibet." Nobody who knows the backwardness of the social structure and the hold of the theocracy over men's souls, thinks that reform will be easy there.

But everyone recognizes that Peking waited until repeated banditry, and collusion with foreigners, including air-drops of arms from Chiang Kai-shek, put the serf-owners in the wrong in the sight of the people, and that theirs is the final word. Meantime the olive branch is out for the Dalai Lama, if he can—and will—return.



A MONUMENT TO THE PAST—THE PALACE OF THE DALAI LAMA
The door is still open to the god-king if he can and will return

SPIES, BALLOONS, AGENTS, CAMERAS AND SABOTAGE, INC.—III

Does the CIA dominate U.S. foreign policy?

By Frank Bellamy
(Last of three articles)

"If war is too important to be left to the generals, it should be clear that intelligence is too important to be left unsupervised."

—Hanson Baldwin, N.Y. **Times**, Jan. 15, 1956.

SPYING HAS BECOME a major industry of American government. According to **Harper's** magazire (April, 1958) no fewer than nine separate cloak-and-dagger outfits are at work, carrying out clandestine intrigue on a worldwide basis and spending each year in the neighborhood of $750,000,000 of the taxpayers' money.

"Though exact figures are secret, estimates suggest that between 20,000 to 30,000 full-time intelligence specialists currently are on government payrolls," said Harry Howe Ransom, author of **Central Intelligence and National Security,** in the **Christian Science Monitor** (Dec. 1, 1958). "The cost probably approaches $750,000,000 annually."

The most lushly financed, of course, is the Central Intelligence Agency. The other eight, which have to get along on lesser amounts, are the intelligence branches of the National Security Agency, State Dept., Atomic Energy Commission, U.S. Information Agency, FBI, Army, Navy and Air Force.

NO CONTROLS: The CIA, now housed in 30 or more scattered buildings in Washington, is erecting an enormous $55,000,000 edifice for itself across the river in Virginia. When completed it will be the world's biggest spy center, accommodating more than 10,000 CIA employes. Best estimates place CIA's total domestic payroll at 14,000 and its budget near $500,000,000 a year.

After it was established in 1947 under President Truman's administration, this

professional undercover army was granted by law a degree of immunity from accountability for funds, personnel and activities probably never exceeded by any other Federal agency in American history.

- It is the only major agency not subject to Congressional committee control.
- Nobody except the President and a few other persons, including ten or 12 select Congressmen who are briefed once a year at budget time, know how much the secret legion spends. All funds for CIA are disguised and concealed in appropriations for other agencies.
- The funds themselves are not subject to audit. Top gumshoe Allen Welsh Dulles can write a $1,000,000 check without explaining the expenditure to anyone. He is the only man in Washington, including the President, with such power.
- The CIA is exempted by law from the Civil Service requirements imposed on most government agencies; it can hire and fire at will.

BARRICADES IN LEBANON: THE CIA WAS SURPRISED
Said Sen. Wayne Morse: "Our intelligence is just plain lousy."

SACRED COW: This is too much power and super-secrecy for Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.). Four times he has sponsored bills to create a joint Senate-House watchdog committee to scrutinize CIA. Despite editorial backing from such influential papers as the N.Y. **Times** and **Wall Street Journal,** Mansfield lost each time. Most of his colleagues in Congress still look on CIA as a sacred cow.

Why is the CIA so inordinately jealous of its power and prerogatives, so anxious to maintain itself beyond the reach of the lawmakers? One reason, the record seems to indicate, is to cover up bungles —some ludicrous, most of them expensive—which would open it to ridicule.

On the ludicrous side, "there are such stories as the news account in a Washington paper some months back of a free-for-all in a downtown restaurant between CIA and FBI men. Each group, the paper reported, had mistaken the other for Communist agents." (N.Y. **Times,** March 16, 1958).

On the expensive side, there was the time—as reported by columnist Westbrook Pegler—that "agents of the CIA handed over $10,000,000 in unmarked ten-dollar bills to the secret service of the Communist government of Poland in the belief that they were dealing with some 'underground' organization which was opposing that government."

Pegler, by the way, thinks the CIA is "no good and ought to be wiped out."

'PLAIN LOUSY': Then there are intelligence failures for which CIA would rather not be held accountable. The most publicized fumble was its flat-footedness on the eruption of revolutions in Lebanon and Iraq. Both took place without advance forecasts from our vast espionage network. "They didn't know what was going on," Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) angrily charged. "Our intelligence is just plain lousy."

The N.Y. **Times'** military expert Hanson Baldwin said (Jan. 15, 1956): "The intelligence record of the nation and the CIA in particular is spotty. There have been notable successes but also notable failures. . . . A great many other incidents also suggest that all is not well with our intelligence establishments."

A more significant motive for secrecy than concealing bungles and fumbles is CIA's desire to keep its bag of "dirty tricks" from the eyes of the public. It realizes that millions would disapprove if many of its devious dealings came to light. Protests would surely follow exposure of the extent to which CIA adventurism has shaped U.S. diplomacy and, in policy toward some nations, replaced it altogether.

POLICY MAKER? Charles Edmundson, who spent eight years in the U.S. Foreign Service before resigning two years ago over Secy. Dulles' policies, accused the CIA in February's **Progressive** magazine of being "an activist group which steps in boldly to dictate foreign policy in areas not covered by decisions of Congress, the State Dept., or the White House." Edmundson went on:

"It executes its projects without concern over the reaction of the public. The incidents it provokes are never acknowledged, yet can be decisive in shaping—or misshaping—public opinion and foreign policy. . . .

"The most fundamental of all civil liberties is the right of the citizen to make up his mind on public issues without having the facts concealed or distorted by his government. The record shows that the CIA, in cooperation with the State Dept., systematically contravenes this principle. A few examples of what is happening creep obscurely into some of the better newspapers, but nowhere, save in a few liberal publications, are Americans warned of the potential consequence of the far-flung operations of the secrecy-ridden CIA."

Liaison between the State Dept. and CIA is close. Both are headed by a Dulles. Both employ about the same number of people (16,000 for the State Dept. vs. an estimated 14,000 for the CIA). If the CIA's $500,000,000 budget estimate is correct, it is more than twice as much as the State Dept. spends on its 282 diplomatic outposts around the world.

In any case, the secret decisions of the Brothers Dulles affect the fate of the world. When ill-directed, they make enemies abroad and cause great damage at home.

Hanson Baldwin summed it up well (N.Y. **Times, Jan. 15, 1956**):

"Uncontrolled secret intelligence agencies are in a position to dominate policy making, and hence government. Their very secrecy gives them power; there are few to accept or reject their findings. . . . An over-powerful secret intelligence agency is dangerous, not alone to the formulation of sound policy, but to the viability of democratic institutions."

Adenauer's leaving

(Continued from Page 1)

The "old fox" last week indicated he was by no means ready to relinquish his reins altogether. He made it clear he would try to endow the presidency with greater prerogatives, similar to those of French President de Gaulle. In his April 8 address Adenauer said:

"I would like to say to you briefly, but with great emphasis: The position, the role and the task of the President is underestimated by the German public and thus also by international public opinion. It is far greater than it is believed."

NOT AN IOTA: Since he remains as Chancellor till Sept. 12, Adenauer will be able to maintain his control of West German foreign policy through the May Big Four foreign ministers' conference and a possible late-summer Summit meeting. To make this unmistakably clear he said:

"The conduct of the West German government . . . in foreign affairs questions will not change an iota during the current international conferences or in the coming years."

Erhard and Finance Minister Franz Etzel are the two most often mentioned as the choice to succeed Adenauer as Chancellor. Erhard, a popular vote-getter as the man credited with West Germany's economic "miracle," is inclined to favor the larger European economic community advocated by Britain. Etzel, closely identified with big business, is favored by Adenauer.

As if to underscore German arrogance in foreign policy Erhard told the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** on April 13 that while his tactics might differ from Adenauer's, the talk of his being more "flexible" was nonsense.

LONDON CONFERENCE: Adenauer's blast at the British should not have been so surprising. He has been sharply critical of British Prime Minister Macmillan's proposals for recognition of the East German government, for a confederation of the two Germanys and for East-West disengagement in Central Europe. At the recent NATO conference in Washington, he instructed his Foreign Minister, von Brentano, to yield nothing and to reject the British proposals. His attack on the British seemed deliberately timed to influence the April 13 conference in London.

Two events indicated that the London conference would meet in Adenauer's shadow:

(1) Macmillan's response to Adenauer's attack, and (2) Bonn's haste, with NATO and U.S. support, to consolidate its military power with nuclear weapons. Macmillan tried to appease Adenauer by agreeing to the nuclear armament of West Germany without waiting for the Big Four meeting in May.

THE JACKBOOTS WEST: It was also reported that Bonn had negotiated a series of logistic agreement which will put West German troops, arms, fuel and supply depots in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark. Norway has agreed to supply naval depot facilities with the West German Navy.

The U.S. is said to be proceeding with

plans for a vast nuclear arms build-up of its NATO allies. This includes bases for the 650-mile Matador missiles on West German territory under West German control within three months, and bases for the 1,500-mile IRBM's in Italy. Also scheduled to receive similar weapons are Denmark, France, Greece, Norway, the Netherlands and Turkey.

Discouraging as these steps seem, the outlook is not so gloomy, for the Western world can never be the same again since Soviet Premier Khrushchev churned up the international scene with his Berlin proposals last November. There were other voices:

In France Jules Moch, French delegate to the UN Disarmament Commission, proposed disengagement by concentric rings centering on Berlin. In Britain, Labor Party leader Aneurin Bevan, a constant critic of NATO's premise of "the danger of Soviet armed aggression," warned:

"We have reached a watershed in international affairs. Either Britain insists upon her own point of view being adopted, or she must abandon the initiative to Western Germany."

THE BEST CHANCE: Voices were raised in the U.S. too in support of the British proposals and criticizing the genuflection before Germany. Columnist Walter Lippmann, after a tour of Western Europe, said he believed an East-West German confederation offered "our best chance to arrange for an orderly evolution in Germany." Senators Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Humphrey (D-Minn.) urged a "give-and-take" East-West negotiation. The N.Y. **Post** said (April 12):

"To arm Germany with nuclear weapons at a moment when fateful negotiations are in prospect is merely to add an abrasive to a situation that already contains elements of friction."

WHICH WAY FOR THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC?—I

Egypt's big business-government partnership

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent
(First of two articles)

CAIRO

DEVELOPMENTS in the Arab East since the Iraq Revolution have provoked wide speculation as to where the United Arab Republic (UAR) is heading, as well as much confusion about its relations with other Arab states. Any evaluation of these developments must consider certain basic facts about the structure of the Egyptian economy.

The recent Anglo-Egyptian financial agreement, settling claims arising out of the Suez invasion, again focuses attention on the importance of "Egyptianization," carried out here two years ago after Suez.

Up to that time, foreign domination of Egypt's banking system, insurance business and a great part of its import, export and wholesale trade had largely prevented the growth of an indigenous capitalism.

Foreign banks with a capital of not more than £5 million controlled deposits of £100 million (out of a total of £198 million); 123 out of 135 insurance companies, foreign-owned, held assets of £20 million out of a total of £38 million. Egyptianization liquidated this foreign control.

Recent financial agreements with France and Britain, in general, return sequestrated property to foreign owners but do not affect Egyptian control of the financial market.

THE STATE'S ROLE: Egyptianization, the most important economic event since 1952, gave impetus to the development of Egyptian capitalism and strengthened an existing big business-government partnership. Egypt's economy long has been highly monopolistic.

Before 1952 the state's economic role had been largely confined to aiding monopolies— in the form of railroad rebates to the sugar and textile trusts, promotion of cartels in transport and cotton processing, etc. The 1952 Revolution — a capitalist revolution against feudalism and British imperialism—was powered in part by the demands of Egyptian capitalists for greater opportunities for development and profits.

In response, the Revolutionary government promptly embarked on a policy of industrialization. Its program was simple: to offer capitalists all the inducements necessary to attract private investment to industry. These included:

Tax, fee and custom exemptions and other privileges; ever greater tariff protection; loans and credits; industry consolidation funds, guarantee of minimum profit margins; "industrial peace" by banning strikes, independent trade unions and democratic institutions. Inevitably all these measures worked for the big monopolies and in themselves encouraged the trend toward concentration.

THE SAME INTERESTS: In addition, the government itself participated—directly or through such agencies as the Insurance & Pensions Fund Administration—in industrial projects whenever this seemed necessary to encourage private investment. Between 1952 and 1957 it invested £24.8 million in industrial joint stock companies whose total capital amounted to £69.4 million—a contribution of 36%.

In virtually every company, the government's partners were the same handful of dominant financial interests. Such aid to industry obviously served to strengthen the monopoly hold on the economy.

As a result of these measures, investment in industrial companies doubled after 1953 but total investment in industry remained small. Egyptian capitalists

preferred to invest in construction, where risks were small and profits quick. Between 1954 and 1956 building investment accounted for 70% of the total private investment in all fields.

Then came Egyptianization and with it a greatly expanded government role in the economy.

POWER AND MORE POWER: Through its Economic Organization, set up in January, 1957, the government took over and operated (sometimes in association with the dominant private financial interests) key banks and insurance companies and some industrial plants. A five-year industrialization plan was drawn up and foreign development loans negotiated.

As of October, 1958, the Economic Organization held a 50% interest in 52 companies (including 13 important bank and insurance companies) with a total nominal capital of £104.5 million. Its right to form companies of its own amounts to partial nationalization.

Egyptianization also greatly increased the power and potential of the biggest Egyptian capitalists. For its operations insured the greatest gains for the handful of dominant monopolies. The principle followed was explained last year by Mahmoud Hamza, former director of the Insurance Dept., and a director of Al Goumourhia Insurance Co.:

"Enemy companies [British and French]," he explained, "were distributed to Egyptian companies relative to their capitals." That is, the biggest Egyptian companies got the biggest share of the British and French assets. Misr Assurances Co., for instance, a part of the dominant Misr group [Misr equals Egypt in Arabic], was able to buy 28% of the foreign insurance companies (excluding life insurance).

THE ARGUMENT: These same dominant monopolies also profit from the Economic Organization's proclaimed principle: that competition is a luxury the country cannot afford. The argument is that only by eliminating competition can costs be reduced and mass production techniques employed. In an undeveloped country such arguments have validity. But without strong political and economic controls exercised in behalf of other sectors of the population, and by a government in which these sections have a real voice, results tend to be diametrically opposite: profiteering and waste in place of reduced costs and improved techniques.

These same monopolies will get a windfall if the Economic Organization carries out the policy proclaimed by its director, Hassan Ibrahim: to fortify the new companies and, when they are doing well, to sell them to the "public," using the money thus realized to start other new companies. Obviously, the "public" will be the big capitalists—the most easily able to buy control and, in many cases, already the government's partners in these concerns.

ONE GIANT TRUST: This apparently includes factories being built with aid from socialist countries. In any case, foreign aid—socialist and non-socialist—is being used to strengthen the monopolies.

The German Democratic Republic, for instance, is supplying the machines and installations for—and will for ten years buy the entire production of—a new Misr Spinning Co. with 100,000 spindles. Yugoslav aid is being used to build a Misr Clock & Precision Instruments Co. An Italian company is helping to build the new Misr Chemicals Co.

Two years after Suez, the Egyptian economy looks more than ever like one giant trust run by big business and government. Egypt's achievements in industrialization have been considerable. But its resemblance to the "socialist, democratic, cooperative society" proclaimed by President Nasser is not apparent.

RETURN TO ISRAEL

Signs point to better Israel-Arab relations

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

RETURNING TO THE Middle East after a year's absence, I find some hopeful signs of a change in Israeli-Arab relationships. The signs are possibly no more than straws in the wind and the change is in degree rather than in kind; yet the hope is that they may be forerunners of a change in political reality.

Arab-Israeli relations on the home front reached their lowest point after Oct. 29, 1956, the day the Sinai Campaign began. On that day 47 Arab men, women and children—citizens of Israel—in the Arab village of Kafr Kassim were indiscriminately killed by a unit of the Israeli border police. Two years later an Israeli military court convicted and sentenced the eight who did the actual killing, but failed to punish those who gave the order.

COLLECTIVE GUILT: Zeev Katz, an editor of the liberal independent newspaper **Ha'aretz,** wrote that, although the major responsibility must fall on Jewish and Arab extremists, ultimate responsibility must fall on all. He said:

"We are guilty of having accepted with equanimity the mockery made of the rights of the Israeli Arab population [in the name of] security considerations . . . The outstanding feature of the verdict was the clause stating that orders contradicting human morality were illegal and that soldiers carrying out such orders were to be held personally responsible for their actions."

Although only the small fry were punished by law, a subtle change nevertheless can be seen in the attitude of the public. A new Arab publishing house opened late last year with the novel **El-Ard** (The Earth) by Egyptian writer Abdul Rahman. The first edition sold out in two weeks. The first issue of a new Arab monthly, **Al Faj'r** (The Dawn) just came off the press.

FORWARD STEP: More significant is the Histadrut's (Israel Fedn. of Labor) decision to accept Arabs as full members. This marks the first step toward ending the unscrupulous exploitation of Arab workers. The Histadrut may have taken this step for reasons of expediency: Histadrut elections are due in May; national elections will be held in November, and the Mapai may well feel that full admission of Arab workers will help their political fortunes.

Nevertheless, this historic and progressive decision will further Israeli-Arab relations. Histadrut will be compelled to help raise wages and equalize working conditions of the Arabs. It will also have to tackle the problems of Arab peasants and help to integrate them into the more modern technical and economic organization of the Jewish farmers. It will finally have to fight against the discriminatory military government of Arab villages. Full membership for Arabs in the Histadrut will thus have far-reaching implications.

SUBTLE CHANGE: On the international front, the present lull may be due more to inter-Arab differences than to any improvement in Arab-Israeli relations. Jordan's King Hussein's statement in Washington that "some" Arab refugees may be settled in Arab countries appears to be more an anti-Nasser move than a genuine attempt at solving the Middle East crisis. This seems to be the case especially when the statement was followed by the termination of U.S. grants-in-aid to Israel, an obvious State Dept. move to woo the right-wing Arab leaders.

Yet a subtle change in atmosphere is noticeable in the sense that, whenever Arabs and Israelis meet today on neutral ground, they find it possible at least to exchange views. I myself had the opportunity of meeting Arab friends and colleagues during my recent visit to West Africa. The language used when we met was less violent and conditions for a possible future modus vivendi less rigid.

The most significant meeting undoubtedly was the one held in Florence last autumn where, for the first time in years, Arabs and Israelis openly debated their differences. In an important speech there Rustum Batuni, an Israeli Arab architect and a Mapam (United Workers' Party) executive, called upon the Arab National Movement to turn its attention to a solution of the social and economic problems as well as to political liberation. Iraq seems to be responding to this call more than Egypt.

HISTORIC MISSION: Batuni added that "Israeli-Arab peace is an essential step in the consolidation of the Middle East's independence and unity," with the "Arabs of Israel symbolizing the historic need for a link between the progressive national movement of the Jewish people and the Arab National Movement."

The "historic experience of coexistence" between the two peoples cannot be achieved, he said, without mutual peace and understanding; this is frustrated by a colonial policy "which divided the two nations . . . The meetings of these two

nations in the past was not sullied by blood and strife."

The Israeli Arabs may well be a bridge to an eventual understanding. In personal, economic and political terms, they have been the greatest victims of this strife-torn region. If this helps them rise to the grandeur of peace-makers, they will have performed a truly historic mission, before which we shall all be humbly grateful—on either side of the border.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE STRANGE ROLE OF PRESIDENT NASSER

The inside story of the conflict between Egypt a

The following article is by a writer who has known Egypt and the Middle East from the inside for many years, and who has maintained his contacts there up to the present.

LONDON

NOW THAT it is becoming clear that the recent abortive putsch in Iraq was inspired by the United Arab Republic, it is vital to understand some of the contradictions which beset the Arab world, in particular the strange role of President Nasser himself.

Firstly, it must be understood that the revolution in Egypt which brought Nasser and the young officers into power in 1952 was much more than a military revolt to overthrow a corrupt King. It was a genuine national revolution, in fact a revolution of economic necessity. It was primarily a capitalist revolution overthrowing a bankrupt feudal society.

And because the bankrupt feudalism of landlord Egypt was the mainspring of British colonial power in Egypt, it was also primarily concerned with getting rid of the true (if indirect) rulers of Egypt—the British.

It was comparatively easy as revolutions go, because the only people against it were the British, the King, and the feudal landlords. They were the only people to lose anything by it.

IDLE WEALTH: At the time of the Egyptian revolution there was a tremendous amount of accumulated wealth in cash lying around in Egypt, with absolutely nothing worthwhile to put it into—profitably. The owners of this vast cash wealth (the big finance houses, the merchant bourgeoisie, even some landowners or their sons) could only see a future for their money in an industrialized society.

The wealth was, in fact, idle because the land paid back practically nothing on investment when the bottom fell out of the world cotton market after the war. So it was vital that some other direction be given to the Egyptian economy if this steadily accumulated wealth was to be put to work to make more profits.

This is no more than a crude outline of the economic background, but it will serve.

Nasser came into power because of this economic situation. The young officers in the Egyptian army were usually the younger sons of landowners or bourgeoisie—the professional sons whom the cash-rich feudal landowning society could not usefully absorb. Or they were the sons of the petty-bourgeois, of government officials (Nasser himself), or of upper and middle peasantry.

They, as a class, had the most to gain in the revolution, because they were the best educated and the most numerous of the young bourgeoisie, for whom the feudal society was a dead loss. They were also the most politically self-conscious group in Egypt.

PEASANTS AND WORKERS: The peasants and the working class (such as it was) also had much to gain. The peasants wanted land, they wanted to be free of the debts and the kind of work-slavery to the upper and big peasantry and landlords; and the workers wanted work and a conscious hope that there was some future for their children, however slim. All wanted an end to their unbelievable poverty and misery.

The young officers were the implement of the revolution simply because they were the only organized group with the means of revolution in their hands. They had the discipline, the communication, the singularity of purpose, and the command of the army—that, and the certainty of popular support for getting rid of feudal corruption and British domination.

Nasser himself, the real organizer of the young officers' movement, played the Cromwellian role of the revolt. The parallel is not one to be forgotten, for quite often the contradictions which revealed themselves in the bourgeois revolution in Britain in the 17th century are the same contradictions which beset Nasser today, with the important difference that the rest of the world surrounding Egypt is no longer feudal (as it was in Cromwell's day) but a decaying capitalism on the one hand and advancing socialism on the other.

SHORT ON THEORY: When Nasser came into power on this popular need to set the economy and the whole national life on some workable basis, he had no real political or social theory that could project him very far. His pamphlet, **The Philosophy of the Revolution,** shows him to be a pragmatist and an empiricist who had to wait for a situation to arise before he could act on it. He says so without hesitation.

He could not, in fact, project a social theory far enough to know clearly what he was doing, once the revolution was won.

What he did have was a narrow but practical base, and a very sound one as far as it went: a three-fold objective to which all else had to be subjected.

Firstly: a complete removal of foreign interference and domination, a total sense of Egyptian sovereignty. This was the most important requirement of Nasser's original concept, and its most successful one—the real reason why the British hated him and tried to break him.

For the first time in Egyptian history, since the last days of the Pharaohs, Egypt had a ruler who was absolutely incorruptible when it came to Egyptian sovereignty.

This one strength alone gave Nasser the power to do many of the things he has done, from nationalizing the Suez Canal to holding out grimly when the British and French attacked Egypt over the Suez Canal.

It had also given him the broad support of all the people of Egypt, even the Egyptian communists who are in jail; **because without this firm and incorruptible position, Egypt would be easy prey to both the old and new imperialisms—not only to Britain, but to America too.**

INDUSTRIALIZATION: His second point, only crudely realized as a philosophy but in fact rapidly realized as a fact, is his understanding that Egypt must become an industrial country if she is to survive. Here he had considerable help from some of the young economic theorists, but in effect he has mainly dealt himself with one or two obvious essentials.

The Aswan Dam is the cornerstone of Egyptian industrial hopes, because with it two great things will come to Egypt: cheap electricity for industrial use; but more important, 2,000,0000 more acres of desert will be irrigated. With this land Nasser not only hopes to rescue Egypt from starvation as her population grows, but he intends to reshape the nature of peasant life.

PRESIDENT NASSER of the United Arab Republic is framed in the salute of an officer as he reviewed a naval display in Latakia, Syria, last month.

Other industrialization schemes are quite remarkable in their scope. Egypt now has a working steel plant, and she will soon make her own fertilizers, so vital to Egypt's economy because she spends most of her hard cash on importing them.

Though Nasser has imposed these essential items on the existing economy rather than developed them out of it, they will work primarily because Soviet help will provide the first layers of techniques and the vast credits necessary to make them work.

NATIONALISM: The third point of Nasser's policy is the most contradictory one: Arab nationalism. In this he is both an Islamic fanatic and a true dreamer, a genius and a fool.

Nasser knows, by experience, that the only way to achieve Arab independence is for the Arab people to work together in some kind of unity. But he follows this need with such single-minded (almost religious) blindness that he fails to see the true complexity and diversity of his own people.

Arab unity is logical and right, but to picture this unity as a singular thing—formed by a borderless, purified, all-absorbing shape called the Arab world—is almost ridiculous.

For instance, I have close family associations with the Sudan, and to talk to a Sudanese—Arab or non-Arab—in terms of being ruled by Egypt or absorbed into an Egyptian state is to talk of treason. The Sudan is, in an Arab sense, pro-Nasser, but it has no desire to be absorbed into Egypt under any guise, religious or political or economic. The same is very true of Iraq: the Iraqis don't want the Arab desire for unity to be misused as an excuse for one group of Arabs to dominate another.

KEY FACTOR: Where the constitutional unity has been achieved in Nasser's terms, with Syria, it is partly false. Syria has always been the most advanced Arab country, politically. It had the strongest Communist Party in the Arab world before the union with Egypt. Its political life had reached the point where, aligned to the growing popular revolution in Iraq, the chances of Syria becoming a progressive socialist-minded country was quite high.

The Baathists, the Syrian anti-communist party which has based itself on a strange mixture of social-democracy and reactionary nationalist ideology, is primarily a bourgeois party. And it was the Baathists who precipitated the union of Syria with Egypt to forestall the certainty of a progressive, if not a straightforward communist victory in Syrian political life. The very point of the union, therefore, was anti-communist, and this factor must never be forgotten in the events which will now develop in the whole area.

IRAQI PREMIER ABDUL KARIM KASSEM ... thusiastic crowd as he arrived for a speech in B...

What one has to realize in Nasser's concept of Arab unity is his passionate ambition to see it realized now—in his terms; not only as a political weapon, but as a working economic, military, religious and international force which will play its powerful role in world affairs, and at the same time rescue the whole Arab people from their long degradation and subjection.

If you were an Arab you would think like Nasser, and admire him for it. But if you were also an Iraqi or a Syrian or a Lebanese, you would probably want to point out to Nasser that self-absorption isn't the answer, particularly when the absorption tends to place one Arab people under the narrow leadership of another.

UNWORKABLE: Egypt has a right to play a leading role in the Arab world. But the one right, which the Iraqis for instance (and most Syrians if the truth be known) do not agree with, is the right of Egypt to dictate the form and the character of this vital unity.

Nasser's concept of Arab unity is unworkable for that reason. It hardly takes into account the differing character of his own Arab people, and Nasser can sometimes be as ignorant of the Arabs as his Zionist opponents are.

For his achievement in getting rid of British rule and setting his country on the road to a future, Nasser remains a positive and heroic figure for every Arab. But for what he is about to do he is about to face the critical analysis of clearer-thinking Arabs, and the real hostility of those who resist his narrow bourgeois ideas of what the Arab world should be.

How has this contradiction arisen? Primarily because the speed of the revolulutionary events is almost unbelievable, when one looks at what has happened in countries like Syria and Iraq.

Up till the Iraqi revolution, one could look leisurely at the new Egypt and realize that Nasser would either have to un-

and Iraq

derstand the social contradictions facing him in Egypt, or eventually go down the slippery path of reaction as the contradictions in his society became acute.

One could have given Nasser time to cope with the contradictions.

THE CONTRADICTIONS: In creating an industrial Egypt, for instance, he was creating a new working class which would be more educated and demanding. In sending all children to school at the age of 8 in an illiterate country, he was

SSEM (right, foreground) drew an en- ch in Baghdad last month.

creating the very force which would begin to realize that Nasser's social revolution was only half-baked. By giving some land to the peasants, by creating new forms of peasant life in the new lands, Nasser would be creating an advanced peasantry which would also demand, like the workers, a greater share in the economy.

These contradictions would have caught up with Nasser in time, and made his empirical methods impossible, for he would have foundered on the very contradictions in Egyptian society which he had hastened into being.

But history has not given him time.

The revolution in Iraq, which had a broader political base than the Egyptian revolution, had at its head a far more intelligent and politically aware man in General Kassem, as well as much wider and more conscious **political** support from the working classes, the students, and the more diverse peasantry and national groups like the Kurds. Iraq—perhaps because of its early development of technicians for the oil fields, or because it did not have Egypt's long history of peasant degradation or early misfortune in being shaped as a cotton colony—has always had more progressively-minded people among its students and workers (and more organized too) than Egypt, particularly today.

ATTITUDE TO COMMUNISM: Communist thought had very little, if any, influence among the young bourgeoisie of Egypt; but among the equivalent class in Iraq there have been developed many more revolutionaries with a sound theoretical knowledge of what they are doing.

Nasser's first attitude to communism was therefore one of indifference rather than hostility. It was not a problem in Egypt, mainly because it hardly existed. When it did raise its head briefly in Egypt from time to time, he simply brushed it aside without too much consideration or thought.

It was this indifference which made it possible for Nasser to think of getting arms from Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union—plus, of course, the fact that he would do anything, regardless of philosophy, to make sure that Egypt retained her sovereignty.

It was only when Syria began to show signs of becoming communist or near communist, that Nasser made a hasty arrangement with the Baathist Socialists of Syria to unite the two countries, under predominantly Egyptian leadership.

And it was only when a more progressive form of Arab nationalism succeeded in winning power in Iraq under General Kassem, more advanced and with more promising social aims in view, that Nasser had to face up to the reality of a genuine philosophy, an alternative to his empirical form of Arab thinking, and either compromise with it or try to crush it. Clearly, he has now tried to crush it.

THE DIFFERENCES: At first he tried to compromise with Kassem, but in the elements of this compromise there were two opposing factors: a desire to convince Kassem that Egypt's way was best, and a playing-for-time so that he could use every means to undermine Kassem's firm position. (For it must be remembered that Nasser's empiricism inevitably leads him to machiavellianism).

What was Kassem's position, vis-a-vis Egypt and Arab nationalism?

Simply, that absorption was not the answer. Kassem believes that Arab federation is possible, unity is possible, common aims are possible—but Iraq is not Egypt. Iraq's way, apart from its hatred of colonialism, is not Egypt's way.

On this, Nasser could not shake his Iraqi brothers, and he could not (dare not) tolerate their new view of the Arab future. It was not difficult for him to organize one or two petty revolts among Iraq army officers, and it will not be difficult for him to go on organizing them—because there are plenty of bourgeoisie still in key positions in Iraq's army, government and civil service who, like the Syrian Baathists, are afraid of the more progressive role which Iraq's leaders are following.

DANGEROUS VOICE: Kassem is not a communist, far from it. There are not even communists in any position of importance in Iraq, no matter what the Western press or Nasser himself says. But a strong and genuinely socialist sympathy exists with a popular following and a press.

That is the real enemy for both the West and Nasser, because it is the only voice in the Arab world which points out the real nature of Arab problems, and the shortcomings of the bourgeois revolution—not only of Egypt but in Iraq itself.

In a curious way, both the West and Nasser want to silence that voice; and as long as Kassem permits it to go on saying what it does, or trade unions to go on organizing, or intellectuals to go on probing at the truth of society, he is a danger to all and sundry—excepting the Arab people themselves.

It is, therefore, not Kassem who is the villain (except incidentally), but their voice that points to a new way for all Arabs.

Thus we have the amazing spectacle of Nasser, the hero of Arab anti-colonialism (he still is), aligning himself with the very powers he has bitterly opposed.

THE ORGANIZERS: It was not only Nasser who organized Colonel Shawaf's recent putsch in Mosul; the Western powers obviously had their hand in it as well. In fact it was first inspired in the Western press. For months we had read in **The Times** and other English newspapers of the certainty of a revolt taking place against Kassem, and they are now saying there will be more revolts.

They know there will be revolts in Iraq because the entire Arab department of the Foreign Office is busy organizing them.

But, Nasser must now face the popular Iraqi accusation that he has identified himself with the West in attempting to destroy a new aspect of Arab liberation which is far ahead of his own.

He cannot wriggle out of this truth; and he must inevitably find himself playing more and more the same role as the West in trying to smash Iraq's progressive regime, or try once again to come to some workable compromise with Kassem on Arab unity.

Only three years ago the choice facing the Arab people was simply (even crudely) for or against foreign imperialism. Events have moved so fast that the entire Arab world, since this latest reactionary attempt on Iraq, is suddenly faced with the new choice of a bourgeois Arab future or a progressive one.

It is hard for anyone who has followed Middle Eastern affairs to realize that this qualitative change has actually taken place, and that the limited future offered by the nationalist bourgeois aims was so shortlived, even in its best aspects.

SOME ANSWERS: Is Nasser a fascist? The answer is No. Nasser is a modern Arab Cromwell, a bourgeois revolutionary caught up too quickly by socialism. Can he become a fascist? Yes, if he decides to pursue his narrow bourgeois concept of Arab unity. Will the Soviet Union go on helping him? Almost certainly, because the fact still remains that the Aswan Dam, which the Russians have promised to help build, is an advance for the Arab people in every respect, not only in material considerations, but politically and socially as well. Unless Nasser is drawn into open military aggression against his Arab neighbors, this fact

will remain true. No doubt Moscow will stick by its promises, unless Egyptian policies become so reactionary as to be hopeless.

There is no doubt that U.S. influence on Nasser has recently increased. Raymond Hare, the Ambassador in Cairo, is one of the cleverest and most enlightened men in the area, and he can talk Nasser's language in every sense of the word. The West's policy of wooing Nasser as a sound anti-communist has won the day, and Hare's influence is not to be underestimated in watching Nasser's changing concept of how Egypt must behave if he wants to have the best of both worlds.

THE NEW STRUGGLE: The real difficulty for Nasser begins now, if he wants to go on being genuinely neutral. He can be neutral alright if it simply means getting on with Russia and the West equally, while suppressing his own communists. But if he must now attempt to suppress the more progressive concepts in a neighboring Arab country which itself is non-communist but independent, his neutralism becomes a farce, because he automatically takes on the attitude of the West: "communism" (i.e., progressive thinking) is the biggest enemy of all.

It is a contradiction he cannot solve.

Even more ironical, this policy will place Nasser side by side with the reactionary leaders of his bitterest enemy —Israel. He will soon learn, in his empirical way, that reaction has no frontiers; that if he wants to behave in a reactionary way, his allies will be reactionary imperialists and reactionary Zionists. And his enemies are bound to be, sooner or later, the vast mass of the Arab world as well as the Egyptians; and someday, perhaps, an enlightened Israel population as well—not for narrow national reasons, but for genuine brotherhood with the Arabs against a common bourgeois enemy which has only one policy—anti-communism.

The stage has been set in Iraq for this new remarkable struggle.

THE SITE OF THE ASWAN DAM ON THE NILE: The structure, now going ahead with Soviet assistance, will not only help industrialize Egypt but will reclaim 2,000,000 acres of desehrt land for cultivation.

BOOKS

The professor who pulled the rug from under Adams

PERHAPS NO ONE BEFORE has exposed so much corruption in American government in so short a space as has Dr. Bernard Schwartz, New York University professor of administrative law, in his recently published book, **The Professor and the Commissions.***

The book has been treated somewhat cavalierly by a few liberal reviewers as a personal justification by Dr. Schwartz for the unpleasant circumstances under which he was fired by the House Committee on Legislative Oversight last summer. It is much more than an apologia. Dr. Schwartz jumped the committee traces to focus public attention upon evils he was attempting to expose.

His book is more than an exposé. It is a scholarly, but fascinating, analysis of the process by which corruption is brought about. It dissects the weaknesses in administrative procedure which make corruption almost inevitable.

What this remarkable book does not do is to relate the rotten areas in our governmental processes to the entire social-economic-political complex, which makes it virtually impossible for our system to be anything other than it is. One even gets the impression that Dr. Schwartz believes that by passing a few laws, most of the difficulty in bringing justice and decency into the so-called independent agencies of government might be corrected. When a socio-political system is sunk in greed it requires more than the revision of laws to bring health to the diseased body politic.

UNDER THE Big Business Administration of President Eisenhower most of the so-called "independent commissions" have been especially badly administered. In general, instead of representing the public interest they have espoused the interests of the great industries which they were supposed to regulate. In many instances they have warped their interpretation of the laws to suit the advantage of the largest companies. The small enterpriser too frequently has been given the dirty end of the stick.

All of this is ably set forth by Dr. Schwartz. He covers the "big six," which his committee set out to investigate. These are the Federal Communications Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and the Federal Trade Commission.

The virtual impossibility of administering justice fairly which these commissions face under present circumstances—this is the really important lesson which this book drives home with great force and vigor. This point is made

DR. BERNARD SCHWARTZ
He faced a difficult choice

amply clear in Chapter 7, Influence and Independence.

THE CHAPTER STARTS with the case history of Miami TV Channel 10 before the Federal Communications Commission. As a result of the revelations forced into the open by Dr. Schwartz, FCC Commissioner Richard A. Mack was forced to resign. His compromising relations with friend Thurman A. Whiteside, a Miami attorney whose client succeeded in obtaining the use of Channel 10, proved uncomfortable.

But it was not just the incidents in the case, but the system by which an influence peddler had succeeded in getting a friend placed upon the commission, and how that friend had been useful in a case which otherwise almost certainly would have been lost, which is illuminating. Everyone who is in a position to observe closely the inside operation of government knows that this sort of thing is all too common.

This is especially true when the White House staff itself becomes involved. Dr. Schwartz shows the fine hand of Sherman Adams, formerly Assistant to the President, at work in the complex government network. Apparently Adams did not always act with the knowledge of President Eisenhower, although in many very important cases there is no doubt that he did. It was Dr. Schwartz's digging in the Goldfine case that brought out Adams' involvement.

He shows, too, how the Bureau of the Budget, which is in the Executive Office of the President, exercises enormous control over the activities of the "independent" agencies. He shows how the President through his power to appoint the chairmen of these agencies can slant their approach to cases. The chairmen are the chief executives of these agencies and appoint their staffs—sometimes with the aid of the Republican National Committee. In some instances involving foreign relations the President has a review over the commissions' decisions.

NOR HAVE THE COMMISSIONS themselves, in recent years, appeared very anxious to maintain independence. On the whole, although their functions are partly judicial, many of their members have not hesitated to fraternize freely with the men whose companies they are supposed to regulate.

Dr. Schwartz raises this interesting question: Should he have resigned from the Legislative Oversight Subcommittee when he realized that it did not wish a thorough investigation of the independent agencies, or should he have done as he did—make it just as hot and uncomfortable as possible for the subcommittee to quash the investigation? He was a paid employe of the committee sworn to uphold its interests. Did his obligation to the American public override his commitment to the committee?

One must read this book to get his answer to this conflict.

—Barrow Lyons

**THE PROFESSOR AND THE COMMISSIONS, by Bernard Schwartz, LL.D. Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y. 275 pp. $4.*

Coming May 4th!

THE MAY 4 ISSUE OF THE GUARDIAN will be a special **Spring Book Issue,** with extra pages devoted to reviews, comment and articles by well-known authors and critics, including Charles Madison, Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Angus Cameron, Yuri Suhl, Dr. Herbert Aptheker and others. It is the opening gun in an expanded GUARDIAN program (1) to bring more good books to more good people, and (2) to widen readership.

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PETE SEEGER TO SING

May Day celebration at N.Y.'s Union Sq.

PETE SEEGER will run the show—the entertainment part of it—at New York's May Day celebration in Union Square Sat., May 2, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., under the auspices of a Trade Union Committee for 1959 May Day. Seeger will lead folk-songs and direct folk-dancing from 10 a.m. until noon. A speaking program will follow from noon to 2 p.m.

Main theme of the celebration is the six-hour day, recalling that the nation's original May Day in 1886 celebrated labor's fight for the eight-hour day.

Representatives of labor federations of Cuba and the West Indies have been invited to speak. These and other speakers will be announced next week, when the speakers' list is complete.

The sponsoring committee includes more than 100 members of 30 local unions as well as members of various national groups, fraternal and political organizations. The committee has offices at 130 E. 16th St.

The United Independent-Socialist Committee, outgrowth of last year's Independent-Socialist statewide political campaign, has urged support of the Union Square May Day celebration.

Warsaw memorial rally in New York April 19

ANNE REVERE, noted stage and screen actress, the Jewish Philharmonic Chorus, Jacob Rotbaum, Art Director of the Polish National Theater, and others wil highlight a mass rally to commemorate the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto Sunday afternoon, April 19.

Russ Nixon, Simon Federman and Cantor David Brodsky will also participate in the program to honor the heroic dead of Warsaw. The rally will be held at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Av. at 1 p.m. Admission is $1.25. Tickets may be secured through the offices of The Committee to Commemorate the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, 1133 Broadway, Rm. 732, or by calling WA 9-2488.

VETERAN NEWSPAPERMAN DIES IN CAPITAL

Barrow Lyons, Guardian contributor

BARROW LYONS, editor of Independent Feature Service and for the past year special Washington correspondent for the GUARDIAN, died in the nation's capital on April 5. He was 69.

Lyons had a long and distinguished career as a newspaperman and a government official. He went to Washington in 1938 as a correspondent for the Western Newspaper Union and during World War II wrote a column that was carried by 1,000 newspapers. Before that he was a member of the editorial staffs of the N.Y. **Times,** N.Y. **Post,** Baltimore **Sun** and the **Christian Science Monitor.** He served also as financial editor of the N. Y. **World-Telegram** and business editor of **Newsweek.**

A specialist in public power, he became press chief for the Dept. of Interior's Reclamation Bureau in 1944, a post which he held till 1952. He published the Bureau's **Reclamation Era** and also wrote a book on conservation, **Tomorrow's Birthright.**

A RARE TYPE: Barrow Lyons was something more than a good reporter and a valued public servant. He was the kind of old-fashioned, independent-minded liberal who has become all too rare. He fought for what he believed in and wrote for whom he pleased. The last thing he wrote for us appears elsewhere on this page. Fittingly, it is a review of a book about corruption in government, a subject about which Barrow felt very strongly indeed.

When the GUARDIAN took his service and asked him to write special articles in addition, it was put to him whether his byline in the GUARDIAN might not cost him some customers elsewhere. He smiled and said:

"I've been getting a good deal of advice about not coming into your paper. I may not always agree with you but you're honest and I think I know what you're trying to do. Besides, I make up my own mind."

Recently we asked Barrow to interview a "security risk" who had been restored to a government job after a long fight. He had been ailing with recurrent heart seizures. He said he felt so strongly about the question that, in view of his condition, he had been "resisting the assignment emotionally."

PERSONAL HISTORY: "Some day," he wrote, "someone in Congress will have the courage to dig out the whole disgraceful story of security investigations. I have held positions of considerable responsibility—during the war and since—and my performance record, I'm sure, is good. Yet I couldn't get a responsible position with government today just **because** I was investigated and 'cleared' without reservation. Somebody in Congress might make it uncomfortable for the person who hired me. That is the real fear **still.**"

When we sent him a letter of accreditation as GUARDIAN correspondent—he didn't need one because he was well known in government circles and in the press corps—he wrote back:

"I shall treasure the letter as a sign of real friendship and personal confidence that I can, and will, give my best when representing the GUARDIAN. This I consider an honor above estimate."

That's the kind of a man Barrow Lyons was. He will be sorely missed.

—James Aronson

Longshore union

(Continued from Page 1)

from delegates by complaining wryly that "maybe we are getting too respectable.")

Official welcomes were extended by Gov. Albert Rosellini and Seattle Mayor Gordon Clinton. President Ed Weston of the State Labor Council brought fraternal greetings from the AFL-CIO. Greetings also came from labor organizations around the world and from large Teamster locals in Washington and California.

But the most glowing tribute came from Jack A. Burns, the last delegate from the Territory of Hawaii to Congress and the man who may become the new state's first governor.

"The foundation for democracy in Hawaii was laid by the ILWU," he said. "It freed the plantation workers from the financial and political dominance of business and gave them dignity and self-assurance. This union taught the people of Hawaii the true meaning of Americanism."

THE NEW CHALLENGE: First of the major policy declarations to receive unanimous approval was the statement on "The American Economy and the New Challenge." It said: "The U.S. has already licked the production problem. After all, our high standard of living is being enjoyed despite an enormous wasteful production of war goods, despite growing unused productive capacity which lies idle for lack of markets, and despite the wasteful and destructive unemployment of over 5,000,000 able, creative Americans.

"On repeated occasions the ILWU has shown that the two immediate objectives, the ending of war and poverty, are essentially one. There is no question but that the energies released by lifting the immense burden of the cost of the preparation for war, which now for years has terrified and paralyzed the world, would find their best use in helping the people of underdeveloped countries. A little help from us would make them capable of using their own resources and their own labor to raise themselves. But the same intensity, vigor and sacrifice must be thrown into this effort that goes into waging war. This is a war against poverty, a common effort to do good and not harm. It is a war in which there

HARRY BRIDGES
Twin goals: no war, no poverty

will be no vanquished, but only victors."

Other major policy statements from the convention included:

AUTOMATION AND MECHANIZATION: "Without a growing economy and an expanding market the American economy can choke on its own enormous capacity. Substantial wage increases are absolutely essential." The statement added that "no one solution—even wage increases—or one answer can suffice to meet the problem which combines increased production potential with the unemployment of displaced workers. Instead a combination of approaches is called for." The union suggested taxes on new machines, early retirement, substantial severance pay, extended vacations, industry-wide seniority, re-training and funds to help workers and their families to relocate as "worth testing and trying."

UNEMPLOYMENT: "Recovery has proceeded apace, but there are some 5,000,000 out of work. Continuing high unemployment is the number one problem facing the labor movement today. We must tackle it in every available way, in collective bargaining and by legislation." Suggested steps included improved vacations, earlier retirement, severance pay, guarantees against layoffs and guaranteed income, extended unemployment compensation, expanded public works, reduced hours of work and extension of world trade. "A successful struggle depends upon united action by the entire labor movement. The ILWU will do its part."

TAXES: The union program called for: (1) raising present exemptions to $2,000 for a single person and $$3,600 for a married couple with $800 for each dependent; (2) opposition to further extension of sales and consumer taxes; (3) steeply progressive rates on state income taxes; (4) shifting more of the tax burden directly to corporate income; (5) closing loop-holes in the tax laws for persons with large incomes.

POLITICAL ACTION: Objective of the union, said ILWU Washington representative Jeff Kibre, must be to "convert creeping liberalism into marching progressivism." The union statement noted that 1958 was "the first election in a long time in which a third party played practically no role whatsoever. For the immediate present there seems no likelihood that there will be a third party with a progressive labor-oriented program which will attract any significant measure of labor support. Therefore we must continue to be free to throw our weight behind any candidate who actively works for peace, security and jobs. Guided by support for our program of peace, security and jobs, and avoiding commitment to any political party, we shall continue to press forward with a program of vigorous, independent political activity."

SOCIAL SECURITY: The convention called for the following amendments to the Federal Social Security Act: (1) provide that persons already retired shall get benefits equal to those received by persons currently retiring; (2) reduce retirement age to 60 with full benefits; (3) provide free medical care; (4) liberalize administration of disability pensions; (5) obtain funds from sources other than by increases in employes' payroll tax.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: The convention commended the Supreme Court for its "historic" decisions in school desegregation and in cases involving individual liberties. But it warned that the court's decisions "can be dissipated by Congressional action or lack of enforcement by the executive branch of the government." It condemned the American Bar Assn. for its attack on the high court. And it supported the Celler-Douglas-Morse bills to empower the Attorney General to seek court orders to enforce civil rights denied because of race and the Celler bill for "revising and humanizing the immigration statute."

UNION RIGHTS: "We do not condone corruption wherever it is. But we do not think legislation is needed to deal with it. Full support for democratic forces in unions and effective enforcement of existing laws against graft, stealing, racketeering—is the best way to eliminate such corruption as exists." The convention opposed the Kennedy-Erwin and McClellan-Barden labor reform bills.

TAFT-HARTLEY: The union reiterated its demand for outright repeal of the anti-labor law and asked for immediate pardons for A. A. Fisher, former Intl. Woodworker official, and Hugh Bryson, former President of the Marine Cooks & Stewards, serving prison sentences under the T-H anti-communist oath provisions. It also asked for dropping similar action against Maurice Travis and the Mine Mill & Smelter Workers Union.

President Bridges, first vice president J. R. Robertson, second vice president Germain Bulcke and secretary-treasurer Louis Goldblatt were unopposed in the nominations. Each received a standing ovation and tributes from the floor.

INTEGRATION RALLY APRIL 18

20,000 youth expected in Washington march

AS THE DEADLINE approached for the second Youth March for Integrated Schools it appeared that Washington would witness on April 18 the biggest nationwide action against jimcrow in years. Rev. Martin Luther King and a busload of 50 youth were scheduled to lead the march. Meanwhile, in New York, 133 buses had been paid for, another 50 were ordered and the prospect was that a total of 200 buses would carry almost 10,000 young people to Washington. The mobilization was being guided nationally from March headquarters at 312 W. 125 St., New York 27, N.Y.

Throughout the country more than 15,000 Negro and white young people had signed up for the March and officials were confident that the nationwide total would reach 20,000, twice the number who participated in the first march last October.

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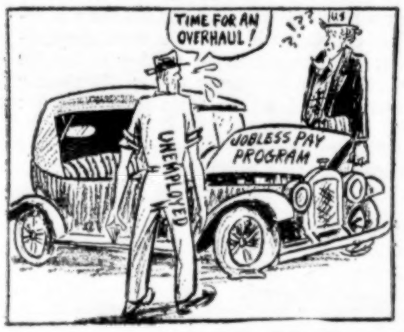
Jobless conference

(Continued from Page 1)

His barbs were aimed at the White House but, in introducing Mitchell, he said the Secretary of Labor "is a friend of mine, I want everybody to know that."

HAT-EATING PROPHET: Mitchell pleaded for patience. He predicted that by October "there will be 67,000,000 people at work . . . and that unemployment will be 3,000,000 or less." To Meany he said: "If this isn't so, George, when the October figures come out, on the steps of the Labor Department, I will eat that hat you said I was talking through."

The delegates gave the friendliest reception to UAW president Walter P. Reuther. His 20-minute speech was interrupted frequently by cheers, applause and explosions from cap pistols. In charge of arrangements, Reuther had placed his union's delegates up front. Their enthusiasm visibly affected the others on the platform.



United Mine Workers Journal

Reuther blamed Eisenhower for mass unemployment but added: "While we believe the President has the prime responsibility, in the last November election the American people by overwhelming vote . . . gave the Democratic Party an overwhelming majority in both Houses. And the Democratic Party cannot escape its responsibilityy to the American people in this situation."

JOHNSON'S PROPOSAL: When Meany announced a long list of speakers for the afternoon session, scores of delegates headed for the warm sun and comfortable grass outside the armory. There various left political groups handed out literature. On the steps a man distributed literature for his campaign for President of the U.S. on the platform: "One for all, and all for one."

Inside, another Presidential aspirant used slicker methods. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson told the meeting he was introducing a resolution in the Senate for a "Joint Legislative-Executive Commission composed of leaders of business and labor" to visit distressed areas and report back in 90 days (it was later changed to 60) to the President and Congress.

THE GRIM DETAILS: As the afternoon wore on in the unusual early spring heat, more and more delegates escaped to the lawn. They missed the more important reports. These came from local leaders who told of unemployment and misery in their areas.

- Sam Ezell from Kentucky said that 35,000 to 40,000 young people are leaving his state annually to come further north for jobs. But, he added, "on the road they are meeting their brothers coming back from Detroit." One county, he said, had an average annual per capita income of $372.
- An official from New Jersey said that in 1949 the Textile Workers paid per capita dues to the CIO for 50,000 members. Today they have a membership of 15,000. He said industry's move to the South was responsible.
- Mrs. Min Lurye Matheson of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., suggested that President Eisenhower quit his golf vacation in Georgia for a first-hand inspection of unemployment in the coal-fields in her state.

ACTION AT HOME: The meeting arrangements provided little for the delegates to do. When questions were shouted from the floor at Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.), Meany rapped the gavel and said: "I'll ask the questions, if there are any to be asked."

To end the day the unionists approved two prepared resolutions demanding (1) that Congress and the Administration consider measures to "get America back to work"; (2) that the President call a meeting of labor, management, agriculture and government to formulate a program. They pledged to hold "Meet the Unemployed" meetings at home to bring labor's case to the community.

After the delegates left, the leaders stayed behind to work out a program. Johnson had given them a lecture on politics: "To speak frankly and bluntly, action will require accommodation . . . Perfect legislation cannot be expected under any circumstances. Adequate legislation will be extremely difficult."

SOME ADVICE: At their meeting April 9 the leaders endorsed Johnson's' study proposal, although in the Senate Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) warned: "What we need is action—not study."

Johnson offered another lesson that bears learning: He said: "Action will not come out of one trip to Washington and one dramatic demonstration." Another pertinent piece of advice came from a 55-year-old unemployed IUE delegate from Ohio who told the GUARDIAN:

"You can't trust either party. They both stink. Neither does a job for us. You have to do it yourself."

Last week it was good to see labor make a start.

Linus Pauling, Rep. Meyer at Brooklyn meeting April 27

DR. LINUS PAULING, Nobel prize winning scientist, and the Hon. William Meyer, Democratic Congressman from Vermont, will be the featured speakers at a meeting on atomic fallout to be held at the Walt Whitman Auditorium, Brooklyn College, Monday, April 27, at 8 p.m.

Chairman will be Dr. Carleton Washburne, head of the Education Dept. of Brooklyn College. The meeting is sponsored by the Brooklyn Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Further information can be obtained from Mrs. Norma Spector at MAin 2-0763.

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April 24—SONG OF THE PRAIRIE, MAGNIFICENT AMBERSONS
May 1—OXBOW INCIDENT
May 8 ..CYRANO DE BERGERAC
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May 22 ...DEATH OF A SALESMAN
May 29 ......ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT
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Mon., April 20, 6:45 p.m.
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Wed., April 22, 6:45 p.m.
"The Roots of Negro Oppression"
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Thurs., April 23, 8:30 p.m.
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DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN will be honored at reception on Sun., April 19, 7:30 p.m. by the United Independent-Socialist Committee, Manhattan Towers Hotel (Bway at 76th St.)
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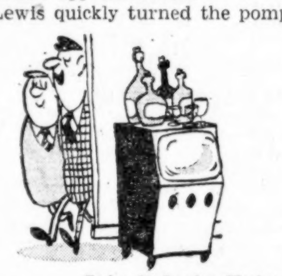
THE GALLERY

IT WAS AWARDS TIME in the New York theater and in Hollywood and the American culture custodians enlisted the aid of their worst enemy, television, to sell their wares. When the tumult died down, TV was certain to survive the onslaught although the public may take longer to recover.

Hollywood's Motion Picture Academy of Arts spent $900,000 to promote its Oscar awards. On April 6 telephone operators at the Academy's offices announced to callers, "This is Oscar day." Posters in movie theaters reminded patrons to be home in time to see the telecast. Theater managers moved up their screening schedules to let people out in time for the TV show. For Hollywood it was a chance to convince 70,000,000 people that "movies are better than ever."

But the performance proved only that it is probably more rewarding to sit home and watch old Frankie Darro movies on the Late Show. The industry's most glamorous sirens and handsomest actors paraded stiffly before the cameras to present the gold Oscars. From the high bosoms and the men's hard collars, it was hard to tell which were the statues. A selection of masters of ceremonies from Bob Hope to Sir Laurence Olivier were called on to add charm and wit to the show. But the climactic portion of the ceremonies was entrusted to Jerry Lewis, of whom the N.Y. **Times'** Jack Gould said: "For sustained poor taste . . . the TV comedian confirmed everyone's apprehensions."

Lewis quickly turned the pompous ceremony into "game night" at a Catskill resort. In succession he got off a stupid gag linking President Eisenhower with Frank Sinatra and Sammy Davis Jr.; belittled Rosalind Russell's performance in **Auntie Mame;** and stripped award-winning actress Susan Hayward of her dignity by calling her back for the audience to give the little lady "a great big hand."



Eccles in London Worker
"Shan't go out tonight if there's anything good on TV."

IT SEEMS INCREDIBLE that the movie industry found no time in its 2½-hour production to show a bit of film. It would seem to have been better promotion to show clips from the movies in which nominated songs were sung rather than to offer an assemblage of off-key singers in clumsy production numbers.

The one sweet note in the spectacle was the award to Nathan E. Douglas and Harold Jacob Smith for writing **The Defiant Ones.** In January it was revealed that Douglas was a pseudonym for Ned Young, an actor who was blacklisted after invoking the Fifth Amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953. Later the Academy repealed an amendment barring awards to people who defied Congressional committees.

Appropriately the ceremonies ended with an ensemble rendition of Irving Berlin's "There's No Business Like Show Business." Comedian Mort Sahl, who was one of the masters of ceremonies, seemed to sum up the show. He said: "It's a very sick production."

SIX DAYS LATER the television screens were again filled with tuxedoed actors assembled in New York this time for the American Theater Wing's Tony awards. The show followed the pattern of the Oscar ceremonies with nominations in each category read by an actor who held the audience in hushed anticipation as he fumbled with the envelope containing the winner's name. But to those who listened to news broadcasts two hours before the TV show, the winners were no surprise.

Re-enactment of scenes from award-winning plays was rejected in favor of a display of Broadway bosoms, remarkably similar to the Hollywood variety. One actress blamed nearsightedness for her difficulty in pronouncing **La Plume de Ma Tante.**

Highlight of the ceremony was the best-actress award to Gertrude Berg for playing Gertrude Berg in **A Majority of One** over Lynn Fontanne's performance in **The Visit.** There was no singing at the end but a suggestion from the sponsor that you "reach for some light refreshment," Pepsi-Cola.

MORE MEANINGFUL to the theater were the N.Y. Drama Critics Circle awards presented on April 8 without benefit of TV. Lorraine Hansberry's **A Raisin in the Sun** was judged the best play of the year (it was produced too late for competition in this year's Tony awards); **The Visit** was chosen as the best foreign play; and **La Plume de Ma Tante** was considered the best musical. There have also been reports that Miss Hansberry's play may also win a Pulitzer prize.

—Robert E. Light

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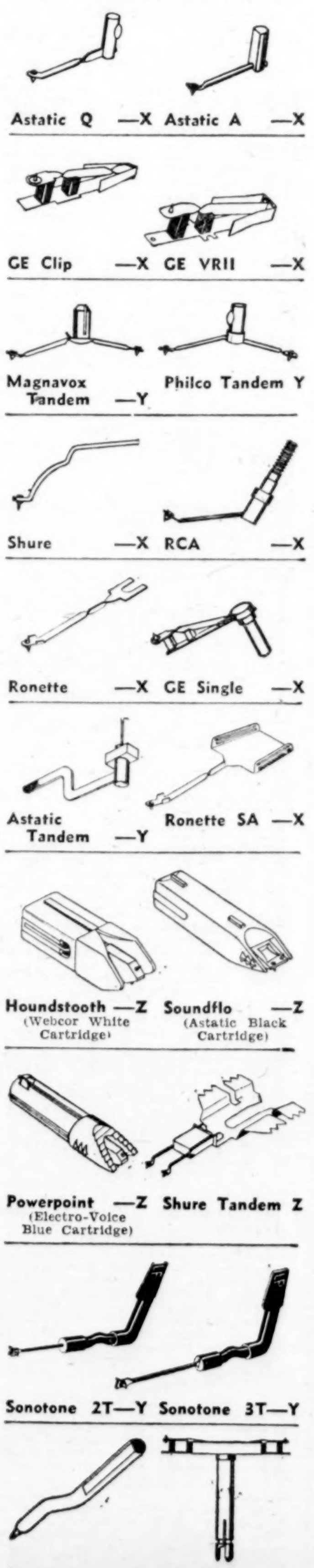

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Sonotone 2T—Y Sonotone 3T—Y
Set Screw —X GE Tandem —Y

the SPECTATOR

Robeson at Stratford

STRATFORD-ON-AVON

WHEN PAUL ROBESON strode into the greenroom of the Shakespeare Memorial Theater after the performance, many American and British friends were there who had worked through the dark years to make this night of triumph possible. His **Othello,** chosen for the honor of opening Stratford's 100th season, was just that—a triumph: but not of only one kind, nor for just one man, as he above all the fighters for the great and simple principle involved in his "case" did not and cannot forget.

"I realize," he said to me quietly, "that if it hadn't been for you people I might not be here now." He didn't, of course, mean London's "Robeson Committee" and the GUARDIAN and its readers alone, but he wanted us to know how he felt.

Relaxed as he was now after taking the last and toughest hurdle easily in stride, his "subversive" friends sharing his victory were more than content to hand him back to the world that once called him great and then tried to kill him with scorn and silence because of what he is and thinks.

REPORTERS, PHOTOGRAPHERS and tuxedoed and smartly-gowned celebrities pressed about him with questions, flashbulbs and congratulations. It was the night of night for his wife Eslanda, radiant and magnificent after her recent serious illness in Moscow. And it was a night of supreme justification for Glen Byam Shaw, the theater's gentle-voiced director, who long before Paul's passport was restored had stunningly rebuked the witch-hunters with the offer of a contract.

The annual season-opening supper party backstage had never been so gay, the guests never so reluctant to disperse to Stratford's half-timbered Elizabethan hotels. The box-office told the story: every seat had been sold for every performance of **Othello** until the fall.

Typically, after receiving an ovation from the audience which was almost unprecedented in my long theater experience, Paul talked to the reporters without either "star" ego or false modesty. He knew that his performance was incomparably better than those he gave in London in 1930 and in New York in 1944, but at once added: "Everyone in the company wanted me to be a success." Asked about returning to the U.S., he said: "I can think of nothing sweeter than returning home with the Stratford company—but of course I might not get a passport to come out again."

THAT ROBESON AND ANOTHER AMERICAN (Sam Wanamaker) topped the opening bill, in a season which will also feature such stars as Laughton and Olivier, had never disturbed British phlegm for a moment. Neither nationality nor politics ever entered into it: it was a cultural event, to be judged by that standard.

Some critical eyebrows were raised by the lavish, unconventional, sometimes rowdy production of the play, and by Wanamaker's most interesting but most unorthodox reading of Iago. Only the **Times** and **Manchester Guardian** critics—alone, it appeared, among the whole packed audience—managed to leave with lofty hearts untouched by Robeson himself.

To the **Daily Herald,** Paul's **Othello** was the best in memory, "the perfection of romantic acting—he poured more music into Shakespeare's poetry than this critic has ever heard." For the dean of London critics, Darlington of the right-wing **Telegraph,** it was "the second best **Othello** I have ever seen" and "a great advance" on Paul's 1930 performance. The **New Chronicle's** "doubts were all dispelled: SUPERB is the word . . . dwarfing all around him . . . The Great Othello." For the weekly **Tribune,** Robeson in the final scenes was "a man inspired, marvelously in control of stage and theater" in "minutes that nobody who was there will forget, that with a handful of others can be cited to justify the theater as a peak of human achievement." The Oxford **Mail,** lauding the production, and the London **Daily Mail** and **Evening Standard,** rapping it, saw Robeson as its "most exciting feature," "sensing the true spirit of the play," acting with "honest passion and intensity." Even Beaverbrook's **Express,** which has for years conducted a vendetta against Robeson, could scarcely forbear to cheer his "strong and stately" performance.

MOST OF THE TOP U.S. publications, including the Luce empire, sent a man along to the opening, and one wondered how they would get around the problem it presented to them. In theater terms no more newsworthy event could be imagined for Americans, yet its central American figure was a man these publications had treated as a corpse or a shabby traitor or both.

As for the GUARDIAN, with this final chapter we can close the books on the "Robeson case" and file under Missions Accomplished. The only remaining obligation is to remember, as we continue to fight for "hopeless" causes, how hopeless this one once seemed.

—Cedric Belfrage